

Author's Copy.

JOURNAL

of the

PĀNJĀB HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Vol. III, No. 2.

THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF DELHI, 1803.

By Sir EDWARD MACLAGAN.

Calcutta:

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS AND PUBLISHED BY
THE PĀNJĀB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LAHORE.

—
1915.

With the writer's kind regards.

The Site of the Battle of Delhi, 1803.

By SIR EDWARD MACLAGAN.

THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

On the 11th September, 1803, was fought the battle which is known in Indian history as the 'Battle of Delhi.' In this engagement the Mahratta troops under the command of M. Louis Bourquien were defeated by General Lake and as a result of the action the city of Delhi and the Moghal Emperor, Shah Alum, passed under the British supremacy.

It is known that the battle was fought in the tract between the Hindan and the Jumna to the south-east of Delhi, but there has been some doubt as to the exact site on which the engagement took place. The site hitherto generally assumed is marked by an obelisk¹ near the village of Patparganj, and this spot is accepted in our present Survey Maps as the site of the engagement: but it has been contended that the battle must have been fought at or near the village of Sadarpur. From the extract from the one inch survey map reproduced below, it will be seen that the two places are between five and six miles apart.

The correctness of the traditional site was impugned in 1881 by Col. Helsham-Jones (then Major, R.E.) in connection with a series of lectures delivered by him at Chatham on the campaigns of Lord Lake²: but the question did not attract further notice until the removal of the Capital to Delhi when Colonel Helsham-Jones in March, 1913, invited the attention of H. E. the Viceroy to the point. Enquiries were then made through the local staff of the Delhi Province and ultimately the question was handed over to the Panjab Historical Society for investigation. The Society having entrusted the matter to me, I have made what enquiries were possible on the data available, and the result of these enquiries is summarized below.³

THE AUTHORITIES.

Our original authorities for the account of the battle may be described under three groups, viz. (i) the contemporary despatches and reports of the Commander-

¹ This obelisk is clearly visible through glasses from Humayun's tomb and other places near Delhi.

² Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers; Occasional Papers Series, Volume VIII, Paper III.

³ Valuable help in the investigation has been received from Mr. J. P. Thompson, I.C.S., Vice President of the Punjab Historical Society; from Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., Registrar and Superintendent of Records at the India Office; and from Mr. G. F. de Montmorency, Personal Assistant to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi. I have also had to make enquiries on various points from a number of gentlemen, including Mr. J. A. Devenish, Col. F. A. Hayden, Capt. A. H. McCleverty, the Hon. John Fortescue, Mr. W. J. Wood, C.S.I., the Ven. Archdeacon of Calcutta, Mr. J. R. Pearson, C.I.E., and Major S. M. Rice, all of whom have replied to me with great readiness and courtesy. For the reproduction of the maps I am indebted to Col. Sir S. Burrard, K.C.S.I., F.R.S., Surveyor General in India, and for guidance and assistance in viewing the disputed sites, to Mr. Minson, Assistant Collector, Meerut, and Major Norman, M.V.O., Q.O. Corps of Guides. I have also had the privilege of discussing the evidence with Col. Helsham-Jones himself.

in-Chief and the Governor General, (ii) the official maps and 'route' of Lord Lake's campaign, and (iii) the accounts given in contemporary memoirs and diaries. In addition to these we may have recourse to (iv) secondary authorities and (v) local tradition.

General Lake, who commanded in the action, sent a series of brief despatches to the Governor General, Lord Wellesley, on the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th of September, 1803. These despatches were utilized, together with the other material available, in the preparation of a long history of the origin and progress of the Mahratta War which was sent by the Governor General to the Court of Directors on 21st December, 1803, under the title of 'Notes relative to the late Transactions in the Mahratta Empire.' In addition to these 'notes', the Governor General also sent on the 29th December, 1803, to the Chairman of the Court of Directors a 'Detailed Narrative of Transactions in the Mahratta Empire.' Both these documents were published in a Parliamentary Paper entitled 'Bengal, also Fort St. George and Bombay, Papers presented to the House of Commons pursuant to their orders of the 7th of May last from the East India Company relative to the Mahratta War in 1803. Printed by order of the House of Commons 5th-22nd June 1804.' A short account of the battle of Delhi will be found in the 'Notes' at p. 248 of the above Paper, with a marginal reference to 'Plate V.' This Plate (which gives an important sketch of the field of the action) is to be found at the conclusion of the 'Narrative' (after p. 339) and Lord Lake's despatches appear in the appendices to the 'Notes' (pp. 270 seq.). The 'Notes' were published, with the plates, as a separate book in London in 1804: and they were also published in London without the plates and without date as 'The Marquis of Wellesley's History of the Mahratta War—Transactions of the Mahratta Empire.' They were also reprinted at the Telegraph Press, Calcutta, in 1805 by 'L. D'Mello.'

The next first-rate authority on our subject is the map of the 'Survey of the Route of the British Army under the command of His Excellency General Lake during the Campaign of 1803-4....'

(ii) Maps and Route. Surveyed by Lieut. H. C. Smyth, Corps of Engineers.' This Map is in the Map room at the India Office. To all appearances it is an original document. It is on eight sheets on a scale of 1 inch to a mile and reached the East India House probably in 1830. Between the paper and the linen on which it is mounted, can be discerned the words 'Received 1807', which is probably the year in which it was delivered to the Surveyor General in Calcutta. 'The circumstances in which it was sent home, with a number of other original maps, will be learnt', says a note kindly forwarded by the Record Department of the India Office, 'from the letter from Capt. J. D. Herbert, Deputy Surveyor General, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Military Department, 29th January 1830, recorded in the Military Consultations of the same date, Nos. 151-152. In that letter Capt. Herbert wrote that it had been necessary to have a correct copy of each document made before it left his Office.' A copy is accordingly in existence now in the Surveyor General's Depart-

ment. The original was evidently prepared in 1804 as 'Smith of the Engineers' was met at Agra on September 10, 1804, by Lieut. Pester (see below) who wrote in his diary—"Smith was employed in completing our route for the last campaign, having surveyed the country for that purpose.' A photozincograph reproduction on a smaller scale of that part of the map which shows Lord Lake's route between Arrah, Delhi and Faridabad is appended to Major Helsham-Jones' paper above referred to. The site of each camp is marked by a tent and a flag, and the site of the battle by crossed swords. These signs are reproduced with small modifications in the general map attached to this paper.¹

Along with this map must be considered a volume in the India Office detailing the route of the army, which is thus described by the Record Department: "The route of the march of the army under the personal command of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Lord Lake, etc." is stated to be "compiled from the documents in the Office of the Quarter Master General." The volume in which it appears is described on the title-page as an "Abstract of General Orders and Regulations in force in the Honourable East India Company's Army on the Bengal Establishment, completed to 1st February 1812, etc. compiled and corrected, by permission of Government, in the Public Offices at the Presidency, and revised in the Office of the Adjutant-General, Calcutta; printed by R. W. Walker, Telegraph Press, Tank Square, 1812." Though not strictly an official publication, it seems to consist entirely of General Orders and Regulations, and the "Route" may be accepted as of official origin, as it claims to be.'

Important evidence is also obtained from a map preserved in the Survey Office of the Government of India which is entitled "Portion of the Eastern Purgunnah of the Dihlee District and portion of Purgunnah Dadree of the Boolundshuhur District, 1828-32." The map (2 inches to the mile) is an original drawing which has never been printed, but it is of great value as showing the state of the tract in 1828-32 and as marking definitely the site of the battle and of three tombs of officers killed at the battle.

Of the contemporary memoirs and diaries the most valuable is that of Lieut. Pester of the 1st Battalion, 2nd N.I., who was personally engaged in the battle and wrote a daily diary. The diary was published by Mr. J. A. Devenish in 1913 under the title of 'War and Sport in India, 1802-06', and the battle is described in Chapter XV (pp. 164-180).

The action is briefly referred to in the 'Military Memoirs of James Skinner' (vol. I, pp. 275-6), a work compiled by J. B. Fraser from autobiographical records left by Colonel Skinner. It is also described on pp. 135-9 of a 'Mémoire relatif à divers événements qui ont eu lieu au Bengale et dans l'Inde', included in vol. VI of the 'Mémoires de Tous' published at Paris (Alphonse Lévasseur et Cie.) in 1837 which is said by the editor to have been written by him on the verbal and documentary information

¹ Mr. W. Foster, C.I.E., writes: "It would appear from Col. Vibart's 'Addiscombe' that Lieut. Carmichael Smyth, who in 1822 was appointed Resident Superintendent of the Seminary, accompanied Lord Lake's Column and was present at the battle of Delhi. This fact adds to the value of the evidence afforded by his survey."

furnished him by 'M. Bourquin' (the incompetent Commander opposed to Lake) on his return from India at Hamburg where the editor was consul. A further description is given in a manuscript Memoir, without date,¹ signed by the same Louis Bourquien, which is in the possession of Mr. J. P. Thompson, C.S. Neither of these records by Bourquien give any serious assistance towards the solution of the question dealt with in this paper, but as they are not otherwise easily accessible, I have reproduced the essential parts of Bourquien's descriptions of the battle as an appendix to this article.

There is also a valuable anonymous diary in the India Office Library which was purchased by the authorities in 1899. 'This document,' says the Record Department, 'which is, without doubt, strictly contemporary, covers the period from 15th August to 25th September 1803; it bears no name, but from a "route" which is written by the same hand, at the end of the book, it is evidently the work of an officer who accompanied the detachment under General Ware that joined Lord Lake on 25th August at the Secundra, which is between Etah and Aligarh.'

A further publication, apparently of a contemporary character, is 'A Sketch of the rise, progress and termination of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the services of the Native Princes of India with details of the Principal Events and Actions of the late Mahratta War, by Lewis Ferdinand Smith, late Major in Dowlat Rao Scindea's service . . . Calcutta, printed by J. Greenway, Hurkara Press', on page 35 of which a brief account of the battle of Delhi is given.

Beyond the above I have found no first-hand authorities for the battle. It is described at some length, however, on pp. 110-123 of the (iv) Secondary Authorities. 'Memoir on the War in India' by Major William Thorn, 21st Light Dragoons, which was published in 1818. This book was based largely on the official reports, and it reproduces the plan published with Lord Wellesley's 'Notes.'

Thorn's account is followed pretty closely by Col. F. A. Hayden in his 'Historical Review of the 76th Hindustan Regiment—now the 2nd Battalion, Duke of Wellington's Regiment', pp. 27-31. This regimental history gives as one of its authorities a manuscript account of the regiment written by Paymaster Kennedy in 1831, but this manuscript, which I have been permitted by the courtesy of the present Commandant to peruse, contains no information regarding the battle that is not already in Lord Wellesley's note or in Thorn's Memoir.² Accounts of the action are also given in Grant Duff's 'History of the Mahrattas' (1826, Edn. of 1912, iii, 251); in Col. Hugh Pearse's 'Life and Military Services of Viscount Lake' (1908, p. 186); in Herbert Compton's 'Military Adventures of Hindustan, 1784-1803' (1892, pp. 310-12); in Stubbs' 'History of the Bengal Artillery' (1877, Vol. I, pp. 214-15); in Fortescue's

¹ From a reference at the end of the memoir to 'the hero who is governing France so gloriously,' the memoir would appear to have been written at any rate before 1815. The language employed in the two memoirs is in many places identical and they are evidently based on the same notes.

² The only regiment other than the 76th which was present at the battle and has an existing counterpart was the 2nd Battalion, 15th Native Infantry, now the 2nd (Q.V.O.) Rajput Light Infantry. No regimental history of the regiment has as yet been completed. The regiments engaged were the 26th Foot; the 1st Battalion, 6th N.I.; the 2nd Battalion, 12th N.I.; 1st and 2nd Battalions, 15th N.I.; the 1st Battalion, 14th N.I.; 1st and 2nd Battalions, 2nd N.I.; the 27th Dragoons, and the 2nd and 3rd Native Cavalry.

'History of the British Army' (1910 etc., Vol. V, p. 53) and in other historical works. The last-quoted work also contains a plan of the battle which differs from the others available in definitely showing a disposition of troops in the immediate neighbourhood of Patparganj, but I have ascertained from Mr. Fortescue that the map followed by him in the preparation of this plan is the sketch forwarded by Lord Wellesley in 1803, and not any independent authority. There is also the account given by Col. Helsham-Jones in a note appended to the series of lectures above referred to: and there are references to the battle in the official gazetteers (N.-W.P. Gazetteer, 1876, Vol. III, Part II, p. 419; District Gazetteer of U.P., 1904, Vol. IV, Meerut, pp. 290-1, Vol. V, Balandshahr, p. 287) and in Mr. E. A. H. Blunt's 'Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces' (pp. 13-14).

From such enquiries as I have been able to make, there appears to be nothing in

(v) Vernacular Authorities
and Local Tradition.

any of the vernacular histories which throws any light on the question of the site of the action; nor is there any strong local tradition.¹ Such tradition as there is will be referred to

later on in this paper.

THE INFORMATION GIVEN BY THE AUTHORITIES.

Such being the authorities, I may note shortly the data which they provide for the disposal of the question in dispute.

The outline of the action of September 11th, 1803, as described by Lord Welles-

(i) The Reports and
Despatches.

ley, is very briefly as follows:—The British forces marching from Aligarh to Delhi were at Sikandrabad on the 9th Sep-

tember and made 'a short march' to the westward on the 10th. On the 11th they made 'a march of 18 miles beyond Soorajepoor,' and reached the ground of encampment 'near the Jehna' [Hindan] 'Nullah (about six miles from Delhi)' at eleven o'clock. The Commander-in-Chief proceeding with the Cavalry to reconnoitre found the enemy 'drawn up on rising ground in order of battle.' 'Their position was strong, each flank being covered by a swamp, beyond which was posted the cavalry. Their numerous artillery covered their front which was further protected by a line of intrenchments; their front was the only direction in which the enemy could be attacked.' The infantry were then called up, but in spite of their alacrity 'one hour elapsed before the infantry could join the cavalry which had advanced about two miles in front.' The cavalry then pretended to retreat and the enemy followed them up. The cavalry having opened from the centre, the infantry advanced in line on the enemy and routed them in every direction. The line then broke into columns of companies allowing the cavalry in its turn to pass to the front with the galloper guns and to complete the victory 'by pursuing the enemy to the bank of the Jumna and driving vast numbers into the middle of the river.' The whole of the enemy's artillery was captured and 'many tumbrils and ammunition carriages were

¹ Capt. Leopold von Orlich (1843), Prinz Waldemar (1845) and Capt. Humbley (1846) travelled through the site of the battle, but make no reference to it in their accounts of their travels.

left by them in the Jumna and in the Jehnah Nullah.' 'After the action,' it is stated, 'the army took up fresh ground nearer the river.' 'The battle,' continues Lord Wellesley, 'was fought within view of the minarets of Delhi, and the whole army encamped the next day close to the Jumna opposite to that city.' On the 14th of September 'the Army began to cross the Jumna.'

The despatches of Lord Lake do not give any topographical detail, all that we learn from them being that the march of the 11th was one of 'upwards of 18 miles.' The despatch of the evening of the 11th is issued from 'Head Quarters Camp opposite Delhi', that of the 12th from 'Delhi Ghaut', and that of the 13th from 'Camp near Delhi Ghaut.'

The plan which accompanies Lord Wellesley's report is of considerable importance owing to the fact that it was published immediately after the battle, and having been reproduced by Thorn in his Memoir of 1828 it has formed the basis of all subsequent detailed accounts of the engagement.¹ It gives an excellent idea of the disposition of the forces and it shows the position of the Jumna, the Hindan, the 'old Fort of Delhi' and the several villages and forts on and adjoining the field of battle. But unfortunately it is a mere sketch not drawn to scale, and no names are given for any of the villages or forts. The only indications by which identifications may be attempted are (a) that the village at the British left front during the action is stated in the 'Explanations' to be a village with a cornfield surrounded by a high wall and a deep ditch to the right of it, and (b) that the village further north opposite the British centre had a well lying to the immediate south of it.

The map prepared by Lieut. Smyth, on the other hand, is much more valuable as

(ii) Maps and Routes. the names of the villages are marked as well as the site of the action, and the sites of the camps before and after the action on the 11th and the camp on the 12th. These sites have been indicated on the general map accompanying this paper. Smyth's map is also of value in showing that so far as the area under consideration is concerned the Jumna and Hindan rivers were in much the same situation in 1803 as now. The Hindan river divides below Ghaziabad into two branches, the Hindan proper and the Bhuriya (or Burhia), both of which are shown by name in Smyth's map. The villages of Geja and Bhangel are shown to have lain then, as now, on the immediate west of the Hindan proper.

Now the camp of the 11th before the action as shown in Lieut. Smyth's map is by the modern survey map 1 mile west of the Hindan and 20 miles from Sikandrabad; the site of the action is 2 miles, and that of the camp after the action 3 miles, further to the north. And the distance in a straight line between the camps of 11th and the 12th is $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the latter camp being a little more than a mile north-east of Patparganj. Turning to the "Route" published in 1812 we find the marches of the 8th to the 13th detailed as follows:—

¹ The plan is reproduced also in Stubbs' History of the Bengal Artillery and in Sidney Owen's Selections from Lord Wellesley's Despatches. The plan will be found in MS. in the copy of the Note presented by Lord Wellesley to King George III, which is in the British Museum.

Dates. 1803.	Names of places.	Miles.	Furs.	Remarks.
September 8	Koorjah ..	15	7	
Do. 9	Near Secundra ..	16	..	
Do. 10	Beyond Secundra ..	4	6	
Do. 11	Near the Hindan Nullah ..	18	3	(Engaged and defeated the enemy.)
Do. 12	(No place named) ..	3	4	
Do. 13	Putpurgunge ..	2	4	(Crossed the Jumna to Delhi where halted until 24th September.)

If we put the camp of the 10th at $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Sikandrabad, this brings the first camp of the 11th to the place shown in Smyth's map. The distance between two camps on the 11th also agrees fairly closely with that map, and although the distance between the camps of the 12th and 13th is put in the route at $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles as against $4\frac{1}{2}$, as indicated by the map, the statement that the camp of the 13th was at Patparganj approximates closely to the information given in the map.

The map of 1828-32 referred to above is in partial conformity with these dates. About a quarter of a mile to the N.E. of the village of Chhalera are written in the map the words 'Battle of Dihlee Sept. 1803', and this site being only about half a mile to the N.W. of that marked in Smyth's map may be said to be in substantial agreement with that map. In addition to this site the map of 1828-32 shows the two tombs entered in the general map attached to this paper, viz. that N.-W. of Chhalera and that to the west of Dalupura. No names are attached and the tombs are simply described as 'Tomb of Officers Killed in Battle of Dihlee.' It also shows a further tomb at the site of the Obelisk near Patparganj and this is marked: 'Tomb of Officers Killed in Battle of Dihlee, called Gunj-Shuheed.' The map also shows that the Ghat known as Patpar Ghat was that lying between Shakarpur Khas and the City.¹

Turning now to the contemporary diaries and memoirs we find a good deal of information given in the diary of Lieut. Pester who appears at the time to have been Quarter Master of the

(iii) Contemporary
Memoirs and Diaries.

4th Brigade and of the 2nd Native Infantry. According

to his diary the encampment on September 10th was 'about two miles on the Delhi side of Secundra.' Here news was received which led to the anticipation of an action on the morrow or the next day and Lieut. Pester adds 'we drank an extra bottle of claret upon this intelligence.' On the 11th he started at 2 in the morning with the Quarter Master General and 'soon after daybreak' obtained information that the enemy was within 5 miles. Proceeding onwards, he commenced 'at sunrise' to mark out the ground of encampment, and 'at this period', he says, we did not know that the enemy's line was within a mile and a half of us.' He then describes the commencement of the action, and states that 'a village on

¹ The village of Patparganj appears in Twining's Journal of 8th Dec. 1794 as Bhirputpore (Travels in India, p. 265).

an eminence was immediately in front of our wing' (that is, the left wing of the army) which was cleared by the Brigade (the 4th Brigade which seems in itself to have constituted the left wing) moving outside and apparently to the west of the village. The troops then closed with the enemy, and Lieut. Pester adds, 'Our troops, after marching 18 miles, and being so long in action were, of course, much worn and fatigued.' The cavalry then advanced. Part of the left wing was left to guard the captured guns and part advanced in support of the cavalry. 'We drove the enemy', he says, 'into the Jumna, and hundreds of them were destroyed in endeavouring to cross it. The Flying Artillery was up, and the river appeared boiling by the fire of grape kept up on those of the enemy who had taken to the river.' When this was over they faced about, and returned to the field of battle to collect the wounded. In the meantime the Artillery which had been left in rear had 'advanced to a rising ground.' After halting about two hours and collecting the wounded, Lieut. Pester's Battalion again moved 'towards the Jumna in a more northerly direction.' About 10 o'clock p.m. the Colonel ordered him to march two companies to the General Hospital tents. Having done this and returned he received at 12 o'clock orders from the Head Quarters directing the left wing to halt in the morning to bury the officers who fell in the action. On the margin of the manuscript of the diary for the greater part of this day is written 'Field of Battle Delhi' and the marginal note on the last few lines of the day's diary is 'Camp near the Field of Battle after the Action.' On the morning of the 12th, the right wing marched 'and encamped about three miles in front.' The left wing received orders to march at 3 in the afternoon after they had buried as many of the dead as could be found, including Lieut. Hill and Lieut. Preston. The diary for September 12th is dated as before from 'Camp near the Field of Battle after the Action' and as there is no mention of a further march on the succeeding day, the 13th, the diary for which is dated from 'Grand Army, Camp, Banks of the Jumnah', it seems likely that this latter was the Camp reached on the 12th. On the 14th and 15th the diary is dated from 'Grand Army, Camp near Putper Gunje on the Banks of the Jumnah' which possibly represents the same site.¹ On the 14th 'the third Brigade crossed the Jumna.'² 'The enemy', says Lieut. Pester, 'in their precipitate retreat, of course, had not time to destroy the platform boats on which they crossed their own troops and artillery, and much time saved was the consequence to us. It proved a most fortunate circumstance to our Army, the enemy crossing the Jumna to engage us. The river was at no part fordable, nor was it likely to be so for some months to come; they had secured every boat, and how we were to have crossed under the cannonade they could have opposed to us I know not.' On the 15th the Commander-in-Chief with the 1st Brigade crossed the Jumna. On the 16th Lieut. Pester rode into the fort. 'The Princes of the Royal Family in the fort had, he says, 'witnessed the defeat of the enemy from the walls,

¹ The chapter of the diary as published is headed 'Battle of Delhi (Putper Gunje)', but this does not occur in the original. On the other hand the original manuscript dates the diaries for the 16th and 18th from Patparganj.

² The 1st and 3rd Brigades appear to have formed the right wing, and the 4th Brigade the left wing.

and saw us cutting them up on the banks of the river which lies immediately under the fort of Delhi.' On the 18th his own brigade (the 4th) crossed the Jumna, and he entered the fort where he was received by some of the Princes. 'They paid us,' he writes, 'numerous compliments on our recent victory, and pointed out to us the bastion from which they beheld the battle, and witnessed the defeat of the enemy.' On the 20th the 1st Battalion, 2nd N. I. (Pester's regiment) crossed the river, the 2nd Battalion being left on the far side until the Hospital crossed on the 23rd. The Chapter concludes with the characteristic confession:—'We passed a very jolly evening, and we were all of us rather high before we broke up.'

The anonymous diary in the India Office referred to above has less details, but is clear in its indications as to the site of the battle. On the 11th, says the diarist, the Army 'made a very long march, and crossed a nullah at the end of it, called Jinna (fordable).' The position of the enemy is then described as being a very strong one. 'Their flanks were protected by villages in which were guns also, and along their line were several more villages, all defended with guns.' At 1 o'clock the line advanced and defeated the enemy after which the cavalry immediately dashed forward and pursued the fugitives 'who fled in all directions.' 'They were followed by the cavalry to the banks of the Jumna into which they threw themselves and were most either killed or drowned.' 'The place of our first encampment,' he adds, 'was moved two coss further on and our tents pitched at a place called Sadarpour.'

The notice of the battle in Skinner's Memoir is unfortunately very brief, but like the anonymous diarist above quoted, Col. Skinner gives a clear indication of the site of the action. The Mahratta force he says 'came up with Lord Lake on the 9th of September at Suddur ka Serai, and so badly off for information were the British troops that the sepoyes were cooking their dinner on the banks of the Hindan river, when they perceived a large body of Bourquien's cavalry coming up. These were beaten on the 10th,'¹ but the plan and circumstances of the battle of Dehlee are so well known that I need not describe it. About 2,000 men made good their retreat to Tapple and crossed the Jumna, carrying off four pieces of cannon, the rest were all cut up by the British Cavalry.'

In Lord Wellesley's map part of the enemy are shown as escaping from the battlefield by passing in a southerly direction to the left of the British troops in a line which would lead to the town of Tappal in the Aligarh district, and it is these to which Skinner refers. To this movement of the right wing of his army Bourquien, in the memoirs above alluded to, ascribes the defeat of the Mahratta forces, and in his account of the action he gives a pathetic description of his futile endeavours to bring his right wing to support his left. He gives no very detailed indication of the topography of the battle but he clearly shows that the action was fought in the immediate proximity of a 'petite rivière', that is to say of the Hindan. He was under the impression that the British forces had at first encamped on the south of the Hindan and that his preliminary pursuit of the cavalry had extended up to that river, but although mistaken on these points he may certainly be accepted as a

¹ Skinner is, of course, mistaken in these dates. He was not at the battle himself.

witness of the fact that the battle took place near the Hindan and not in the neighbourhood of Patparganj.

From Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith we have no indications of the site of the battle beyond the statements that Bourquien on the 9th September, had moved two brigades 'down to Putperghaut and began to cross the Jumna' and that the British army was met with after it had undergone 'a fatiguing march of eighteen miles.'

The battle was a fine example of drill and courage and there are some excellent

(iv) Secondary authorities. accounts of it among the secondary authorities quoted above.

But there is little or nothing in any of these authorities (other than Col. Helsham-Jones) to show that they had consulted any source of original information other than Lord Wellesley's note and the plan accompanying it. It is however stated in Col. Hayden's Regimental History of the 76th Regiment that the second camp on the 11th September was 3 miles from the first, a fact not stated by Lord Wellesley. Col. Pearse says that the morning camp of the 11th was about a mile beyond the Hindan, and Stubbs states that when the British force arrived at their ground 'the enemy was seen in front near the village of Patparganj between the river Jumna and its confluent, the Hindan.' The Meerut Gazetteers of 1876 and 1904 have, as noted below, assumed the correctness of the Patparganj site, while the Bulandshahr Gazetteer of 1904 states that Sarai Sadr was the site of the battle.

Local tradition is not very definite and somewhat conflicting. Some of the

(v) Local Tradition. villagers are aware that a fight occurred between the English

and the French, the latter being variously represented as under Louis Sahib (Bourquien) or under Piru Sahib (Perron). A mark is shown inside the southern gate of Sarai Sadr which is said to be that of a cannon ball, but it is apparently the accepted view that the battle of 1803 was fought north of Chhalera and not at Sarai Sadar. From one old man at Chhalera it was ascertained that the battle was to the north of Chhalera where the solitary European grave lies, and there is an old brick-kiln immediately to the east of Chhalera on which the English are said to have placed a gun during the battle. So far therefore as it goes we may say that local tradition supports the site shown in the Survey map of 1828-32.

CONCLUSIONS.

It will be seen from the above summary that there is really very little to be said in favour of the northern or Patparganj site. The two chief indications of a site in the direction of Patparganj are (a) Lord Wellesley's statement that the army on the 11th marched '18 miles beyond Soorajpoor', and encamped 'about six miles from Delhi', and (b) the statements made by Lord Wellesley and Lieut. Pester that the battle was fought 'within view of the minarets of Delhi' and was witnessed from a bastion in the Delhi Fort. Surajpur is about 31 miles from Khurja and therefore (if we follow the 'Route' of 1812) some $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond the camp of the 10th, so that a march on the 11th of 18 miles beyond Surajpur would mean a total march of 28 to 29 miles, and this would land the army not merely at Patparganj but some

3 or 4 miles beyond it.¹ What has doubtless happened is that a comma has been omitted after the words '18 miles' and that the sentence merely means that the march was one of 18 miles and that it went beyond Surajpur. Then again the fact that the battle could be seen from Delhi, though doubtless more easily understood when dealing with Patparganj which is only 4 miles from the fort than with Sadarpur which is about 10 miles distant, is not inconsistent with the assumption that the battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Sadarpur. Where the view is not obstructed by trees or buildings, the Jama Masjid is quite visible from the ground near Chhalera even at times of the year less clear than the rainy season, and it is quite possible that smoke of the guns at Chhalera would be seen from Delhi, while the flight of the troops past Patparganj and over the ghat must have been clearly visible. Lord Wellesley's remark that the camp before the battle was six miles from Delhi must be treated as a mistake, and it is easy to understand how he and other contemporary writers must have been subjected by considerations of sentiment to the temptation of assigning the battle to a site as near to the Imperial City as possible.

The evidence in favour of a site near Sadarpur or Chhalera is indeed indisputable. Even the Governor General's account of the engagement makes it clear that the battle was fought some two miles from the morning camp and that the morning camp was on the Hindan. Smyth's map prepared under official orders during the ensuing cold weather makes the site of the battle near Sadarpur and shows the position of the camps on the 11th and 12th in a manner inconsistent with the suggested site at Patparganj. The 'Route' published in 1812 confirms the sites assigned by Smyth to the camps, and the Survey Map of 1828-32 places the site of the battle near Chhalera in the immediate neighbourhood of Sadarpur. Lieut. Pester's narrative corroborates the length of the march (18 miles) to the morning camp of the 11th, the distance ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) from that camp to the enemy, the northerly move to the evening camp, and the move on to the neighbourhood of Patparganj on the 12th. The anonymous diary at the India Office makes it clear that the morning camp immediately adjoined the Hindan and adds that after the engagement it was moved on two kos to (and this can fairly be taken to mean 'to the neighbourhood of') Sadarpur. Skinner again assigns the action to the village of Sarai Sadr immediately south of Sadarpur, Bourquien attests that the battle was near the Hindan, and such local tradition as exists connects the fight with the neighbourhood of Sarai Sadr and Chhalera, and not with Patparganj. There can therefore be no doubt whatever that the actual engagement took place near Sadarpur and Chhalera, and not further north.

This being so, the identification of the villages marked in Lord Wellesley's plan is no longer a matter of primary importance. But it may be allowable to suggest that the village with the square enclosure to the left front of the original British line is

¹ The distances are approximately as follows, viz.:—Khurja to Sikandrabad, $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles; Sikandrabad to Surajpur, $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles; Surajpur to the Hindan, $5\frac{1}{2}$; the Hindan to Sarai Sadr, $2\frac{1}{2}$; Sarai Sadr to Sadarpur, $\frac{1}{2}$; Sadarpur to Chhalera, $\frac{1}{2}$; Chhalera to Patparganj, 5; Patparganj to the river, 3; the river to Delhi, 1.

either Sarai Sadr or Sadarpur; that the villages immediately north of this are Chhalera and Agahpur (the latter still has an old and large well adjoining it); and that the large village to the north-east is Baraula. The 'Mud Forts' have disappeared and are unknown even to tradition, but the fort on the Hindan may probably be identified with the village of Bhangel. If these suggestions are accepted the northern part of the plan has evidently been very much 'foreshortened' and there is some mistake in the relative positions of the 'Ghat' and the 'Old Fort of Delhi' (by which presumably is meant Purana Killa, which forms a very prominent object in the landscape from the east side of the Jumna). The plan would appear to indicate that the British Infantry were drawn up first in a position immediately south of Sarai Sadr or Sadarpur. These villages lie on rising ground (scarcely high enough to merit its description in Lieut. Pester's words as an 'eminence', but still sufficiently marked to merit notice) and one or other of these was doubtless the village which was cleared by the left wing.¹ The low ground on either side towards the Jumna and the Hindan would doubtless in September have been correctly described as a 'swamp.' The enemy would then have been engaged to the south of Chhalera and Agahpur and the British Infantry after the action would have stood partly to the west of Chhalera and partly to the east between that village and Agahpur, while the Cavalry pursued the enemy towards the river and towards Patparganj. This precise reconstruction of the battle can only be regarded however as tentative, and all we can say definitely is that the enemy was engaged by the British troops near Chhalera and Sadarpur.

The impression that the battle was fought near Patparganj is probably due partly to the fact that the troops encamped near that village for some days after the engagement and partly to the existence near Patparganj of the monument erected in memory of men who fell in the battle. Although I have consulted the records available in the United Provinces Secretariat (those in the Executive Engineer's office at Meerut are said to have been destroyed) I have been unable to ascertain when this monument was erected or what inscription it originally bore. The fact that the inscription on the monument is not included in the comprehensive 'Bengal Obituary' published in 1848 raises a presumption, but only a presumption, that the monument had not then been erected or if erected did not bear any inscription. Col. Helsham-Jones, writing in 1881 on information acquired during his residence at Okhla in 1869-72, speaks of the monument as then in existence and says that it had 'an inscription to the effect that it marks the field of battle', but we have no copy of this inscription now extant. The Meerut Gazetteer of 1876 in describing Patparganj says: 'About three quarters of a mile from the village site is the spot, marked out by a surrounding ditch, where in 1803 the battle of Delhi was won by Lord Lake against the Mahrattas, commanded by Bourquien, a French adventurer. There is a monument on the spot to the memory of Colonel' (sc. Cornet) 'Sanguine and others who fell.' This information is repeated in the Meerut Gazetteer of 1904, but no

¹ Col. Helsham-Jones in his paper suggests that the village with the square enclosure shown in Lord Wellesley's plan was Sarai Sadr, which is built in and round an old square masonry sarai, and this may be so, but from the 'explanation' the enclosure would appear to have been merely a field with a wall round it and not necessarily of a permanent character.

further authority is given to connect the monument with the site of the battle. The monument was repaired and the present inscription inserted in 1898 under the following circumstances. In the course of the year 1897 a list of Christian Tombs and Monuments was sent for record to Mr Radice, the Collector of Meerut, and he pointed out that this monument was omitted. His report at the same time showed that the monument was in considerable disrepair and that the inscription had for a long time past been missing. The Archaeological Surveyor, Dr. Führer, was consulted, and he supplied from Major Thorn's book a list of the officers killed at the battle, and suggested the adoption of the following inscription :—

“ Sacred to the memory of the undermentioned gallant officers :—

Major Middleton, 3rd Regiment, Native Cavalry ;

Capt. McGregor, Persian Interpreter ;

Lieut. Hill, 2nd Battalion, 12th Native Infantry ;

Lieut. Preston, 2nd Battalion, 15th Native Infantry ;

Cornet Sanguine, 27th Dragoons ;

Quarter Master Richardson, 27th Dragoons ;

“ and of the brave soldiers who fell in the exemplary exertion of deliberate valour and disciplined spirit at the battle of Delhi, fought on the 11th September 1803, by the Grand Army under the command of His Excellency General Gerard Lake and a Division of Monsieur Perron's troops under the command of Monsieur Louis Bourquien.

“ The names of these brave men will be commemorated with the glorious events of the day on which they fell, and will be honoured and revered, while the fame of that signal victory shall endure.”

After further enquiry from Dr. Führer regarding the source of his information, it was decided by the Officiating Lieutenant Governor Sir J. D. LaTouche in May 1898 that the inscription should take its present form, and the repairs were completed in the following year. The inscription now runs :—

“ Sacred to the memory of the undermentioned gallant officers.

Major Middleton 3rd Regiment Native Cavalry.

Capt. McGregor Persian Interpreter.

Lieut. Hill 2nd Battalion 12th Native Infantry.

Lieut. Preston 2nd Battalion 15th Native Infantry.

Cornet Sanguine 27th Dragoons.

Quarter Master Richardson 27th Dragoons.

The following extract from the orders of the Government of India refers to the action in which they fell.

‘ The Governor General in Council sincerely laments the loss of Major Middleton, Captain McGregor, Lieutenant Hill, Lieutenant Preston, Cornet Sanguine, Quarter Master Richardson and of the brave soldiers who fell in the exemplary exertion of deliberate valour and disciplined spirit at the battle of Delhi. The names of these brave men will be commemorated with the glorious events of the day on which they fell and will be honored and revered, while the fame of that signal victory shall endure.’

This monument was repaired and the tablet which had disappeared was replaced by order of the Lieutenant-Governor, of the North-Western Provinces, 1898. The battle was fought on the 11th September 1803.¹

It will be seen that the monument was, so far as we can judge, originally erected in memory of 'Cornet Sanguine and others' and the present inscription, though it reproduces the names of all the officers who died on the occasion of the battle, does not explicitly state that the battle was fought on the site of the monument. As a matter of fact there are two tombs apart from the monument which doubtless represent, as stated by the Survey Map of 1828-32, the resting places of officers killed in the battle. These tombs are plastered brick structures, some 6 feet by 4, and rising to a height of 5 or 6 feet above a rectangular base, some 11 feet long by 4 feet wide. They have sloping plastered roofs and their long dimension is orientated at nearly E. and W., with a tendency to N.-E. and S.-W. They are at present in great disrepair but they have both been recently notified as Protected Monuments at the instance of Messrs. Pearson and Humphries, the Collectors of Meerut and Bulandshahr respectively. The tomb to the north near the obelisk is apparently not mentioned except in the map of 1828-32, but it must represent the burial place of some officer who died in, or whose body was conveyed to, the camp of the 12th September. The tomb to the south near Chhalera is referred to in the Bulandshahr Gazetteer of 1904 and from its position it is not unlikely that it covers the grave of the two officers—Lieuts. Hill and Preston—who were buried by Lieut. Pester on the morning of the 12th September. The battalions to which these officers belonged, viz. the 2nd Battalion of the 12th Regiment and the 2nd Battalion of the 15th Regiment, were on the left of the right wing during the action and would thus be engaged not far from the site of the tomb. Six officers in all lost their lives, and it may well be that the monument in the form of an obelisk near Patparganj covers the bodies of three of these (including Cornet Sanguine) and the name given to the site in the Survey Map of 1828-32, viz. 'Gunj-Shuheed' or 'Martyrs' enclosure', encourages the supposition that the spot may have been utilized for the burial not of officers only but also of men. The spot must have been selected however owing to its being in convenient proximity to the camp of September 12th, and not as representing the site of the engagement.

* * * * *

The conclusion of the investigation therefore is that Col. Helsham-Jones is perfectly correct in his contention that the battle was not fought at Patparganj. There can be no doubt that the place at which the two forces first became engaged was in the immediate neighbourhood of Sadarpur and Chhalera, some 5 or 6 miles to the south

¹ As pointed out by Mr. Blunt on pp. 13-14 of the list of 'Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces,' Lt. Preston belonged to the 15th not 13th N.I.: the other inaccuracies in his copy of the inscription to which he draws attention do not however find a place in the inscription on the monument. The Government orders quoted are on p. 273 of the Bengal papers. They go on to say that a monument would be erected at Fort William to the memory of the officers and men (European and Native) who had fallen during the campaign, but the Ven. Archdeacon Firminger, from whom I have made enquiries, informs me that he has been unable to trace any such monument in Calcutta. Sanguine and Middletor died of sunstroke, the rest were killed.

of Patparganj; and there seems to be no reason why we should not accept the position shown in Smyth's map between Sadarpur and Agahpur as representing the site of the engagement. If it were ever proposed to erect a monument to commemorate the battle, an excellent position for such a monument would be at the top of the old mound which is situated a few hundred yards east of Chhalera, and which commands a fine view of the surrounding area.

APPENDIX.

A.

Extract from a manuscript 'Mémoire de son séjour aux Indes 1787-1803' by Louis Bourquin in the possession of Mr. J. P. Thompson, C.S.

Le lendemain à huit heures du matin j'appris que l'avant-garde ennemie était arrivée à deux lieues de nous. Je détachai aussitôt ma cavalerie qui tomba sur elle et la défit entièrement. Pendant ce temps je m'occupai à ranger mon armée en bataille * * * * *

En formant ma ligne de bataille, j'avais donné la droite à la brigade du major Geslin comme plus ancienne que la mienne. Pour profiter de l'avantage qu'avait remporté ma cavalerie, j'avais l'intention d'avancer immédiatement contre l'ennemi. Le terrain qui nous séparait étant très uni je voulus marcher en ordre de bataille afin d'être prêt à tout événement. Je commandai en conséquence, mais les cinq bataillons de la droite au lieu d'avancer en front jugèrent à propos de faire un à droite et de marcher par file à gauche, ce qui produisit un grand vide entre les deux ailes, triste et funeste présage de ce qu'au moment décisif je devais éprouver de ces bataillons.

Ce ne fut qu'après bien des instances de ma part qu'ils se rallièrent aux cinq bataillons de la gauche. Mon intention était de former une seconde ligne ; mais, de tous mes bataillons aucun ne voulut en faire partie. Parvenus tels que nous étions en vue de l'ennemi, nous le trouvâmes rangé en bataille en deçà d'une petite rivière de l'autre côté de laquelle il s'était d'abord campé. Nous avançâmes jusqu'à demi-portée de canon. A cette distance nous ouvrâmes le feu de notre artillerie toujours marchant sur lui. Arrivée à la portée de la mitraille, nous fîmes une décharge qui mit le désordre dans les rangs des Anglais et les contraint à prendre la fuite. Nous les poursuivîmes jusqu'à la petite rivière. Alors j'empêchai mes troupes d'aller plus loin et les ralliai sur le centre pour attendre l'ennemi en cas qu'il revînt à la charge ou pour continuer la poursuite en bon ordre. Les Anglais se reformèrent en effet sur leur réserve et, malgré le feu de notre artillerie, vinrent, en colonne serrée, attaquer notre aile gauche. Cette manœuvre leur aurait couté cher si j'avais été maître de mes troupes. J'envoyai à notre aile droite l'ordre de faire un quart de conversion à gauche et de charger l'ennemi. Par ce moyen la colonne angloise aurait été prise en flanc avant qu'elle eût pu se déployer et se serait trouvée entre deux feux. On ne m'écouta pas ! Je me portai moi même le long de la ligne. Je trouvai le major Geslin le sabre à la main, immobile à la tête de son aile. Il me dit que ses bataillons refusaient de lui obéir. Je les haranguai, j'exhortai, je suppliai, car la menace était hors de saison. Un des bataillons conversa, mais resta en place. Cependant les cinq bataillons de ma brigade soutenaient le combat avec le plus grand courage. Pendant quatre heures ils resistèrent à l'ennemi, et se replierent sans se rompre jusques sur les bords de la Jumna, mais enfin découragés par l'inaction de l'aile droite qui s'était déjà retirée dans une direction opposée du côté de Tapel, plus encore que par le grand nombre d'hommes qu'ils avaient perdus ils lâchèrent le pied et se débandèrent.

B.

Extract from the 'Mémoire sur les événements qui, en 1805, ont contribué à étendre la puissance des Anglais au Bengale et dans l'Inde—par M. Louis Bourquin' as published in vol. vi of the Mémoires de Tous.

Il restait cinq bataillons devant Delhi. Le commandant Drageon m'envoya pendant la nuit une capitulation que j'acceptai, quoiqu'il me fut facile de voir qu'il ne cherchait qu'à me ménerger dans le cas où je battrais les Anglais. J'aurais désiré rappeler mes cinq bataillons qui étaient

devant Delhi, mais, dans ce moment, l'avant-garde ennemie n'était plus qu'à deux lieues, je ne songeai plus qu'à combattre. Après avoir reconnu la position de l'ennemi, je jugeai une charge de cavalerie nécessaire pour l'arrêter, et me donner le temps de ranger mes troupes en bataille et d'y ramener l'ordre.

* * * * *

Ma cavalerie réussit, comme je l'espérais, non seulement à arrêter la marche de l'ennemi, mais elle jeta le plus grand désordre parmi les Anglais, et les força à rétrograder. Vainement le général Lake prétendit que ce n'était qu'une feinte pour me faire sortir des retranchements. Il n'y avait pas de retranchements, nous étions sur un terrain uni, sans aucun ouvrage, sur les bords d'une rivière, et ce fut la vigueur de la charge de ma cavalerie qui contraignit les Anglais à cette retraite forcée.

Pendant ce temps je faisais manœuvrer l'infanterie, mais j'eus en ce moment la preuve que l'indiscipline est la perte d'une armée. Je commandais à cinq bataillons d'avancer en ligne de bataille; au lieu de m'obéir, ils firent un à-droite, laissant entre eux et le reste de l'armée un vide qui coupait ma ligne; j'eus toutes les peines du monde à y rétablir l'ordre. Cela se passait vis-à-vis de l'ennemi.

Néanmoins je ranimai le courage des soldats, je parcourus leurs rangs et excitai leur ardeur. Nous marchâmes contre les Anglais, et les attaquâmes à demi portée de canon, avec un feu bien nourri dont on distinguait les ravages dans leurs rangs. Arrivés à portée de la mitraille, une décharge leur fit le plus grand mal, et les fit reculer. Nous les poursuivîmes jusqu'à une petite rivière où je fis faire halte pour reprendre haleine. Dans cette intervalle les Anglais se rallierent à leur réserve, et se reformèrent en colonnes serrées pour attaquer notre côté gauche. A l'instant j'ordonnai à mon aile droite un quart de conversion pour prendre l'ennemi en flanc, et cette manœuvre eût infalliblement causé sa défaite; mais l'on ne m'obéit pas. Les troupes de ma droite, au lieu de faire ce mouvement, restèrent immobiles; vainement je parcourus la ligne, pressant, conjurant, suppliant; un seul bataillon se rendit à mes prières, le surplus ne m'écouta pas.

Je sus depuis que les émissaires de Perron étaient dans ces bataillons, et paralyisaient leur courage par mille bruits absurdes.¹

Cinq bataillons de ma brigade personnelle soutinrent seuls tout l'effort de l'armée anglaise. Pendant quatre heures ils arrêtèrent l'ennemi par un feu continu d'artillerie et de mousqueterie, et ensuite se retirèrent en bon ordre et au pas sur les bords de la Jumna.

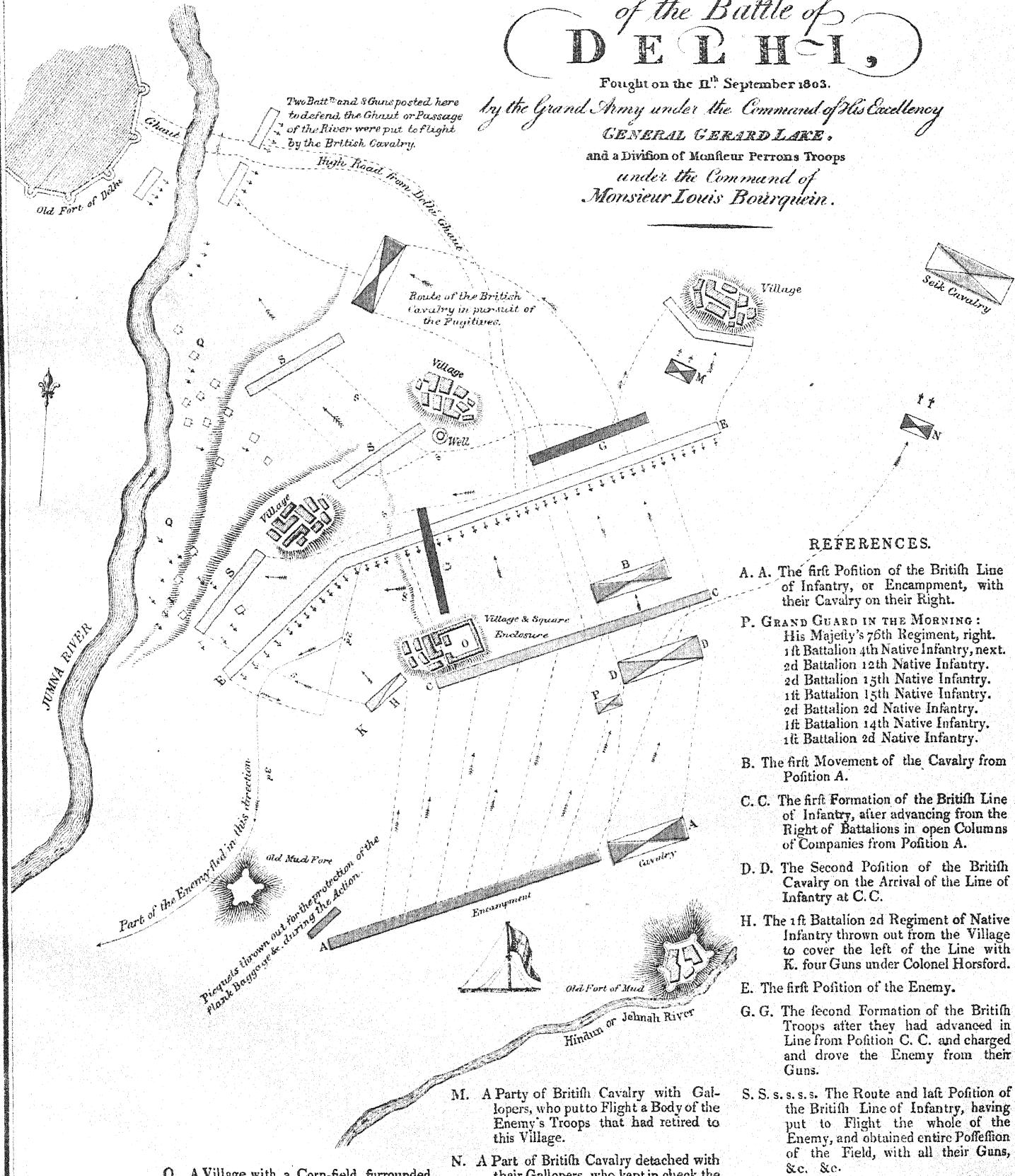
La brigade du Major Gelin et les autres troupes avaient longtemps auparavant quitté leur position. Les cinq bataillons, affaiblis par la perte qu'un combat de quatre heures aussi inégal leur avaient fait éprouver, découragés surtout par la défection du reste des troupes, lachèrent pied et se précipitèrent dans les bateaux pour passer la rivière. Je les suivis; et comme le désordre acheva de se mettre parmi cette poignée de soldats, qu'il m'était impossible de rallier, je me jetai sur le territoire du rajah de Belnigor. L'artillerie et la caisse de l'armée tombèrent au pouvoir de l'ennemi, et le lendemain mes propres effets, qui étaient dans Delhi, furent pillés par les gens de l'empereur mogul.

¹ The Memoir is mainly filled with abuse of the alleged treachery of Perron.

Plan of the Battle of D E L H I ,

Fought on the 11th September 1803.

by the Grand Army under the Command of His Excellency
GENERAL GERARD LAKE.
and a Division of Monsieur Perrons Troops
under the Command of
Monsieur Louis Bourquin.



REFERENCES.

O. A Village with a Corn-field, furrounded by a high Wall and deep Ditch on the Right of it.

M. A Party of British Cavalry with Gallopers, who putto Flight a Body of the Enemy's Troops that had retired to this Village.

N. A Part of British Cavalry detached with their Gallopers, who kept in check the Seik Cavalry from charging the right Flank and Rear of the British Troops.

A. A. The first Position of the British Line of Infantry, or Encampment, with their Cavalry on their Right.

P. GRAND GUARD IN THE MORNING :
His Majesty's 76th Regiment, right.
1st Battalion 4th Native Infantry, next.
2d Battalion 12th Native Infantry.
2d Battalion 15th Native Infantry.
1st Battalion 15th Native Infantry.
2d Battalion 2d Native Infantry.
1st Battalion 14th Native Infantry.
1st Battalion 2d Native Infantry.

B. The first Movement of the Cavalry from Position A.

C. C. The first Formation of the British Line of Infantry, after advancing from the Right of Battalions in open Columns of Companies from Positio A.

D. D. The Second Position of the British Cavalry on the Arrival of the Line of Infantry at C. C.

H. The 1st Battalion 2d Regiment of Native Infantry thrown out from the Village to cover the left of the Line with K. four Guns under Colonel Horsford.

E. The first Position of the Enemy.

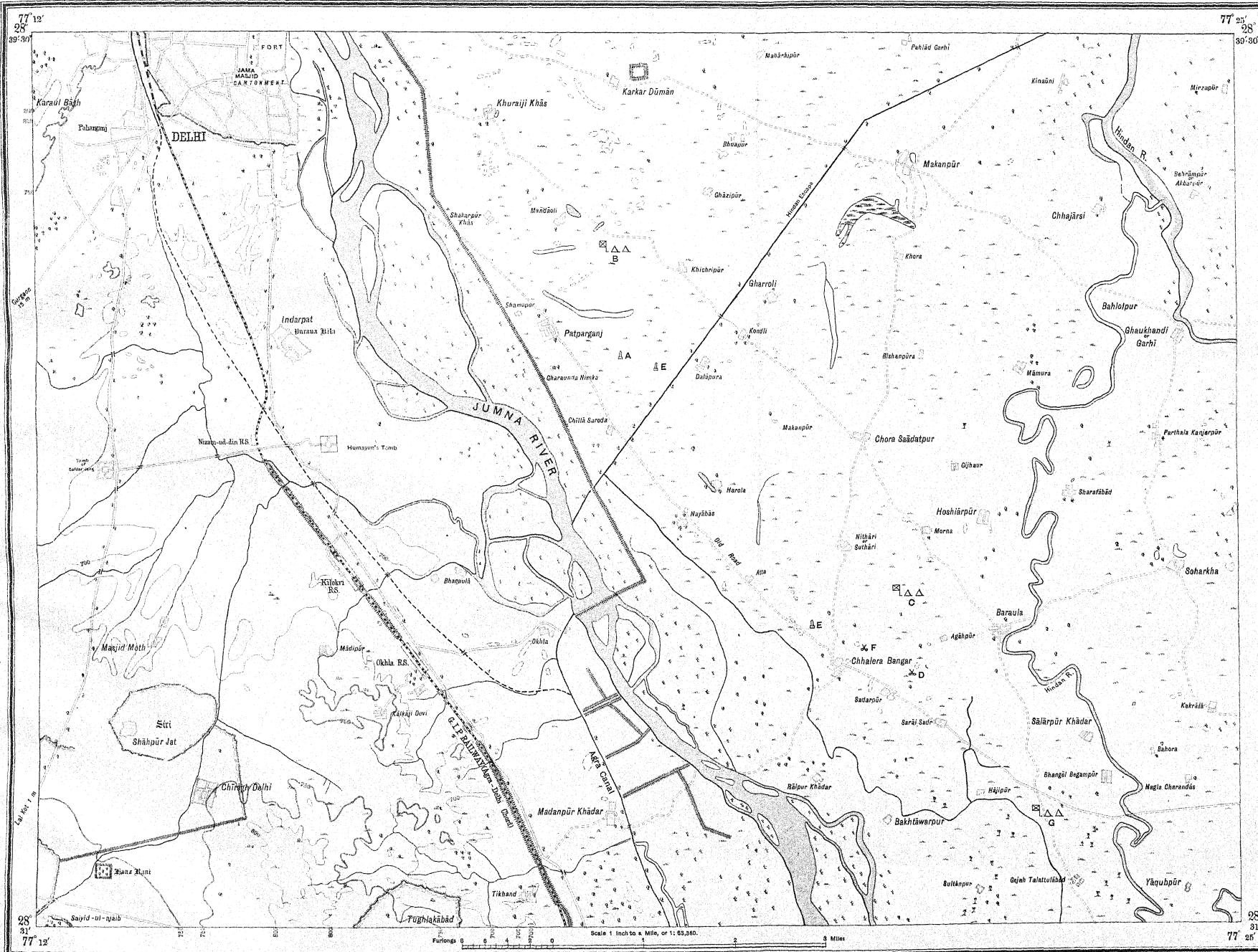
G. The second Formation of the British Troops after they had advanced in Line from Positio C. C. and charged and drove the Enemy from their Guns.

S. S. s. s. s. The Route and last Position of the British Line of Infantry, having put to Flight the whole of the Enemy, and obtained entire Possession of the Field, with all their Guns, &c. &c.

Q. Q. Scatter'd Guns and Tumbrils left on the Field by the Enemy.

GEICAL Map

to illustrate the site of the BATTLE of DELHI on 11th. September 1803.



REFERENCES

- A. Tomb of Officers killed in the Battle of Delhi called Gunj Shuhed as shown in Survey Map of 1828—32 and now marked by an obelisk.
- B. Camp Sept. 12th, (as shown in Smyth's Map).
- C. Camp Sept. 11th, (after the action) as shown in Smyth's Map.
- D. Site of Engagement (as shown in Smyth's Map).
- E. Tombs of Officers killed in the Battle of Delhi (as shown in Survey Map of 1828—32).
- F. Site of Battle of Delhi (as shown in Survey Map of 1828—32).
- G. Camp Sept. 11th, before the action (as shown in Smyth's Map).